couched in the same number of words, while on its front it presents about as available an ad con-tandum as a politician could find convenient to make use of for any electioneering emergency

its front it presents about as available an ad contandum as a politician could find convenient to make use of for any electioneering emergency whatever.

In the first place, occupants found upon a public domain, external to some sovereignty owning it, can in no proper sense be called "a people," If we are to have any regard for political science as taught from Kant backwards through the wholt train of public writers. Except we mean to repudiate all such political science as was recognized and acted on by our forefathers, and assume to ordain new doctrines and ideas according as the exigency of party may require, no one can be warranted in calling such inhabitants as I have described "a people." I have no time allowed me to argue this question. I shall take it for granted that gentlemen who step forth to argue such questions know something—at least, that when the occasion indicates the necessity of doing so, they will look into the books and learn something. How many individuals buying tracts of land in the public domain would consuitute a people? How close together should they reside to constitute them one people? How fir apart to make them two peoples? How many peoples might they erect themselves into within a given circumference—asy two hundred miles square—and each group declare itself absolutely independent of the others?

In the second place, the word territory is a term of geography, used by the framers of the Constitution in that sense, as synonymous with public lands, or public domain. The word will be found in the Constitution in the singular number, not as descriptive of any defined and limited region of country, coincident with a sphere of political jurisdiction, but as applicable to all the public lands every where in all their detached parts and fractions. But in the language of the day, it is used as a political term indicative of a certain form and condition of society, with established jurisdiction at limits, within which, by constructive ownership and eminent domain, the people there have the r

munity, supposed to possess the power of self regulation.

In the third place: This people, it is said, have a right to manage their own "internal affairs"—to govern themselves. Now, sir, it is here assumed that all affairs internal to their supposed limits are their affairs. No one has any rights there but themselves. True, we, the people of the United States, are the owners of 99 acres in a hundred of all the lands there, and these inhabitants could have emigrated thither only by our permission and under our laws, and have acquired nothing beyond the fragments of land that each one severally occupies. We are the owners of all intermediate tracts separating one settler from another, and of all the region encompassing them about, to an indefinite extent. And yet, when, upon the pretance of having become the owners of a few acres, at a nominal price, or probably no price at all, they assume to qualify our title to all the rest; to affix conditions to its purchase and occupation; to determine what shall be the state of human society in all the rest; to repel us, the very owners,
upon a political test; to practise a sort of naturalization system, to the exclusion of a part of the
rightful owners of the soil; they are said to be doing
a thing more than managing their internal affairs.

Str. is it not manifest that, in excluding the people
of the South from the public lands, the settlers
would be assuming to do more than manage their
maternal affairs? They would undertake, thereby,
to determine their external relations to the United
States, and to subject their ownership of the pubic lands to terms and conditions that did not origmally attach to it.

E SOUTHERN PRESS.

DAILY.

Washington, Friday, June 28, 1850.

No. 11.

done, and without the least color of constitutional authority. Yet no blame has been whispered in color of the control of the control of the color of constitutional authority. Yet no blame has been whispered in color of the color of the color of constitutional authority. Yet no blame has been whispered in color of constitutional authority. Yet no blame has been whispered in color of constitutional authority. Yet no blame has been whispered in color of constitutional authority. Yet no blame has been whispered in color of the color of constitutional authority. Yet no blame has been whispered in color of the color of constitutional authority. Yet no blame has been whispered in color of the color of constitutional authority. Yet no blame has been whispered in color of the color of constitution of an indefinite number, and independent fund of revenue is passing into the hands of a single body of men, who can raise troops to an indefinite number, and indefinite number of who can raise troops to an indefinite number, and indefinite number of the indefinite number, and proposet them who have not only been silent spectators of this present, who are the advocates of the system who have not only been silent spectators of this present, who are the advocates of the system who have not only been silent spectators of this pres

lar powers commensurate to its objects? A dissolution or ususpection is the dreadful dilemma to which it is continually exposed."

Does this look as if Mr. Madison thought there was competent authority with the inhabitants of the colonial settlements to institute temporary governments, and erect themselves into new States, against the authority of the United States? If this power naturally belonged to the inhabitants, how could Mr. Madison say that the old Congress "could not have done otherwise?" That "the public interest, the necessity of the case, imposed upon them the task of overleaping their constitutional limits." He makes it an argument for the new constitution, that it supplied the defects of the old in this respect, and removed the necessity for usurpation. He upbraids the conduct of those who stood by and saw Congress usurp these powers under the old system, and yeraised a great outcry because the same were made legitimate in the new constitution. Mr. Madison addressed this language to the American people at a time when they were debating the question of the adoption of the new constitution; and he told them in plain words, before they had adopted the instrument, that he recognized in Congress all the powers, in this respect, which it ought to have had under the old system. And, so far from branding the old Congress with usurpation, he speaks of what they did as a "task imposed upon them" by the inexorable necessity of the case—imposed upon them, because there was nowhere else an authority that could assume to perform it. And yet we have Mr. Madison introduced here to show that this task belonged naturally and originally, as a very sacred privilege, to the inhabitants of the settlements!

Consider, sir, the weight of Mr. Madison was a member of that convention ; one of the very abless and far the most attentive and watchful. He sat from day to day, writing down every thing said and done, for the information of posterity for all time to come. He speaks, therefore, as a historian, a chronicler, an eye

minion over all the people result numerous as they may become.

You have a Senate elected by State Legislatures: a President elected by colleges. And this President, thus elected by persons removed from the people, elects fifty times as many officers as all the people themselves. He elects all the great officers of State. He elects the entire body of executive officers from his cabinet down. He elects the whole body of judicial magistracy, from this Supreme Court down; and that, too, for life. He elects the entire corps of dignitaries and agents entrusted with the foreign relations of the country. He elects every naval and military officer. There is not a single office of profit—civil, military, diplomatic, or judicial, that is not put at his disposal. Such are the provisions of our republican Constitution. And yet gentlemen find it difficult to persuade themselves that this same Constitution could so far have lost sight of the Democratic principle as to entrust Congress with a temporary

will be seen the situation of the framers of the Constitution in relation to the territorial posses-sions. And if we will endeavor to realize their situation, we shall find no difficulty in realizing

Now, from the ownership of a colony there followed, as a matter of course, the right to make all laws "necessary and proper" to a colonial possession. The fact of ownership imposed upon Congress the task of government. There was no need of any grant of power. And this is in conformity with the whole method of the Constitution, which is, to indicate the subject of power, without pretending to specify or enumerate what laws Congress may make upon the subject. They are only required to be necessary and appropriate laws. The convention did not, in fact, expressly create any power. It was thought sufficient that Congress had undoubted possession of the subject. I admit, as I have long since been convinced, that the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations concerning the territory regards the territory simply as property. But it will be asked, why this minor power was expressed, and the greater are omitted? Because a portion of the territory lay within the jurisdiction of sovereign States, and a State might, upon the pretext of eminent domain, claim a power paramount to that of the land owner; and as the organized districts were shortly to become States, and there would be, in that event, danger of the same pretence being set up by them, the power was expressed in general terms. The expression of this power, therefore, was to effect an unequivocal exclusion of any State power, as my friend from Virginia (Mr. B.) has properly argued. This provision of the Constitution is, strictly speaking, a prohibition upon the States.

[As to the higher power of legislating for the territories, no particular state could make any pretension to such a power, and a provision in the Constitution for the purpose of barring such pretension, would have been mugatory.]

Let me not be misunderstood. The colonial powers of Congress should conform to the liberal principles of colonization that characterize the age, and should be in strict subordination to our own Constitution. The United States, the parent country, should mark out and fix the boundaries of the regi Compression and and or government. There was no most of any grant of power. And this in continuous which is, to indicate the naighest of power, without pretending to specify or enumerate what have Congress many make upon the subject. There are not to be necessary and the continuous of the subject of power, without pretending to specify or enumerate what have Congress many make upon the subject. There are not to be necessary and the subject of power, and the subject of power, and the subject of power was expressed the territory regards the territory imply as properly. But it will be asked, why this min're power was expressed the greater are omitted? Beauties of overeign States, and a State might, upon the pretent or embanded to the subject of the power of power, any pretent of the power, and the pretent of melinet domain, claim a power paramount to that of the land owner; and as the organized districts were shortly to become States of the power, and the pretent of the power, and the provision of the Constitution is, strictly spaking, a probibilition upon the States.

As to the higher power of legislating for the territory, and the provincial stricts are power of the pretent of the provision of the subject of the provision of the rights and privileges and individually of the inhabitants within those the provision of the rights and privileges and individually of the inhabitants within those the provision of the rights and privileges and individually of the inhabitants within those the provision of the rights and privileges and individually of the inhabitants within those the provision of the rights and privileges and individually of the inhabitants within those the provision of the rights and privileges and the provision of the rights and privileges and the provision of the rights and privileges and the provision is a power provision. The United States, the prevent c

mention of the formulation of the control of the co

conservative under our system. The duty of Government is to protect every right, and meet every guaranty provided by the Constitution making authority. With this authority rests all the guaranties of the Constitution.

And what is the Constitution making authority It is a Convention. A name degraded of late from its high political sense, and applied to every species of political rendezvous or gathering. Everything now-a-day is Convention, except Convention in the true sense.

Convention, with us, is a systematic and regulated institution. It is supreme over all others.

erative limited government; in the territory it is a consolidated government, and will so continue until the districts become States. A citizen in a district bears the same relation to this Government, that the citizens of the States would all have borne had the States been reduced to dependencies. In a State the immunities of the citizens are subject to two forms of convention: a convention of the State, and conventions of all the States acting by a specific majority of three-fourths. In a district, which has no sovereignty, the citizen is subject only to the national form of convention. There is, therefore no authority competent to abrogate the private rights of persons in a district, except conventions in the last mentioned form.

It would seem, from what I have just said, that the co-equality of the States is not necessary to my argument; as State rights are not involved in the question. Nor does the argument appear to depend upon the equal ownership of the people of the Union in the public domain. The true foundation appears to be the equality and universality of civil rights and immunities under the Constitution of the United States, and the equal and uniform action of that instrument upon all the people of the Union. In regard to all personal guaranties, the Constitution of the United States acts upon the people of the Union as one mass, and the claim of the citizens to these immunities are directly upon the United States, and are irrespective and independent of State sovereignty.

Having shown what are the rights of all free inhabitants and citizens of the United States in the territories, the question arises, what action is it the duty of this Government to take on the subject in organizing territorial governments:

Sir, this question is briefly answered. The action of the Congress on the subject at its first session, and afterwards, under the Constitution, is conclusive.

sion, and afterwards, under the Constitution, is conclusive.

At the very first session of Congress under the present Constitution, in the fourth month of the session, a territorial government for the district south of the Ohio river was provided. In the charter, there was an injunction laid upon the local legislature, to make no law interfering with the rights of emigrants to take their slaves to the territory. This right had been violated by the ordinance of 1787, and the Congress deemed it its duty to prohibit the like for the future, and to see to the faithful execution of the Constitution by its subordinate government.

The next year a charter of government was provided for the district of Tennessee, and a clause was inserted prohibiting the district legislature from enacting any law "tending to the emancipation of slaves."

Some years afterwards a government was pro-

ion of slaves."

Some years afterwards a government was provided for the district of Mississippi, with a simi

vided for the district of Mississippi, with a similar clause.

The Constitution had denied the power of interference to Congress, and Congress, therefore felt it to be its duty to extend its prohibition to its creature government, for whose conduct it ought to be held responsible. Thus was the first compromise, which was upon the line of the Ohio river, carried out in good faith by this Government.

But in process of time new territory was acquired west of the Mississippi, and the North demanded that a new compromise should be made upon a line far south of the first. The South was overborne by a majority, or rather, sold by

demanded that a new compromise should be made upon a line far south of the first. The South was overborne by a majority, or rather, sold by Presidential aspirants. We submitted; but with many heart-burnings; and the blush of shame upon our cheek. Recently, we have made still another acquisition of territory; and when we ask nothing more than that Congress should execute the Missouri compromise in good faith, how are we answered? We are cooly told that Congress has no right to interfere—no power to protect the Constitution from infringement, or the rights of citizens, under the Constitution, from outrage by a chartered company of settlers whom Congress itself shall create. Sir, what justification could you make for taking from the people of the South their own Constitution, and the rights therein guaranteed by solemn oaths, and subjecting them to the caprice, ignorance, or fanaticism of a chartered corporation in New Mexico or California? The people of the South will not long delay to have an answer to this question.

The Congress is now employed in devising a form of government for Oregon. We all see and feel the absurdity of the doctrine that Congress

used. Mine host of the Pulaski House, to whom a specimen of this flour has been sent, confirms the good opinion which we have expressed of this article. Our friends, Messars. Linton & Co., of Augusta, write to us that they are already beginning to grind the new wheat in considerable quantities. The crop, they say, comes in well, saving the occasional rust which has touched the article in certain localities. Last year they were all ready for the most extensive operations, but the untimely frost nipped their hopes in the bud. Now, the pomise is good, and, we are glad to hear it. Heaven send that the high prices of cotton may not divert any of the labor now directed to the cultivation of wheat. But then we have the regions on the Tennessee within reach. We wish our friends all the success which their enterprise deserves. We understand that F. Sorrel, Esq., and probably other houses, will keep a constant supply of this flour on hand.—Savannah Republican.

GEORGIA LUMBER .- From the 1st of January 1850, to the 10th inst., there were shipped from ports of Savannah and Darien 16,860,073 feet of number, of which 10,764,000 ft. were shipped from Savannah.

The Census of Boston,—An enumeration of the inhabitants of Boston, has recently been made under the municipal authorities. From this it appears that the city is radidly increasing in the number of its population, and the amount of its trade.

The present population is put down at 138,788, of which 52,961 are Irish, and 10,359 Germans, English, &c., showing a total population of 63,-320, which will be surprising to most people, as Boston has been supposed to be principally composed of natives. But when we consider the large number of public works which have been put up in and around Boston, we need not be astonished at this influx of foreigners. Besides, a large number of our original native population has been enabled by the excellent railroad diverging from the city in all directions, to remove to the smaller towns in the neighborhood.

The whole number of colored persons in Boston, with all its professed sympathics for the black race, is only 2,112, which is only a few hundred more than there were in 1820, showing a very feeble increase.—M. Y. Evening Post. THE CENSUS OF BOSTON .- An enumeration

From the Jacksonville (Ala.) Republican, 18th, inst Cotton Factory.

MR. GRANT—Sir: I presume that it is not generally known that we now are no longer dependent on other States for our factory thread—perhaps there are some who have not yet learned this fact. The factory of Burton & Mallory, on Chockoloco, is now in successful operation, turning out daily, a large quantity of thread, manufactured out of the material raised in our own county. Specimens are to be seen of this thread in all the stores in Jacksonville, and I do not hesitate to recommend it to be as good an article as any made in Georgia or Tennessee. Messrs. Burton and Mallory expect to supply this county with thread, and it is to be hoped that they will be patronised by those who wish to buy, in preference to any other factory. All we need to make our county the great manufacturing portion of Alabama, is energy and enterprise; for such credit is due to Messrs. Burton & Mallory.

Success to Mallory & Burton, success to their factory, and may they be sustained by the patronage of a liberal community, and may our county be well filled with such men. Nothing but the manufacturing interest, can develope the resources of our country, fertile in soil, and rich in the minerals. MR. GRANT-Sir: I presume that it is not ger

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CF Individuals may forward the amoun abscriptions at our risk. Address, (post-pa ELLWOOD FISHER, Washington

A Warning to Abolitionis

It gives us pleasure to state that one of a gang of Abolitionists, who have, for some time past, infested Lewis county, with the notorious John G. Fee at their head, was notorious John G. Fee at their head, was arrested a few days ago, on a charge of having persuaded the slaves of Gen. Thomas Marshall and Mr. Jenkins, of that county, to run away. He was brought up for examination at the Court House in this city on Tuesday last, before Esquires Wood and Collins; and, in default of bail in the sum of five hundred dollars, committed to jail to take his trial at the next term of the Mason Cir-

re-arranged, the shafts raised, boilers turned end for end, and several other alterations under the direction of William Sewell, Esq., U. S. N. He attached a new cut off, of his own invention, to the engine, which, we are informed, is extremely simple and works remarkably well. The officers and men have, by the present arrangements, comfortable quarters, and are highly pleased with her and her performances.—
Her expenses are very small, indeed; being one hundred dollars per month less than a gun brig. She did more duty and visited more ports than four gun brigs could have done in the same space of time; therefore being equal to four, at less than one-fourth of the expense. She has another advantage. She can get into the small ports close up to the towns or cities, where her presence is of much more service than a vessel in the offing, some ten or twenty miles

distant.
She reflects much credit upon those who fitted her out, and upon her efficient com-mander Capt. Ward, upon whose instance

she was overhauled.

This Navy Yard is the best located of my in the United States for fitting out and repairing steamers, there being a large steam engine establishment and foundry almost adjoining. The engines for the new steamer Powhatan are building at the Gosport Iron Works.

Some second and third class steamers are nuch wanted in our Navy.

From the Norfolk Herald. Poposed Social Convention on Important Business.

The Richmond Enquirer, provoked by a parade in a New York paper of a long list of steam vessels in the process of building in that port, indulged in some severity of remark on the apathy of its own State, which with advantages for commerce and resources of wealth, certainly not less than those enjoyed by the "Empire State," had not yet built the first ocean steamer; and indig-nantly asked—"Is it not a disgrace to Viginia, that the four cities and towns, in the very bosom of the State, to wit:-Richmond, Petersburgh, Norfolk and Portsmouth, cannot support a single line or boat upon the Ocean? Why is this? It is not for want of means to build them, nor on account of any lack of business, but from a slavish dependence upon Yankee skill and enterprise. Every thing must be left to be executed by the people of the North. Why not make an effort for a line of steamers beween our towns and Liverpool? If all would unite whose interest would be promoted, the scheme would be crowned with

To this the Portsmouth Pilot responded in Mississippi Cetton Crox.—The Jackson Mississippi of the 7th instant, says: "Since publishing our less statement of the crops of Mississippi, we have received letters from about fifteen additional counties. We are sorry to say that we have never in our life known a more gloomy prospect. We shall not make 250,000 bales in the South; the number ought to be 700,000 bales at least."

To this the Portsmouth Pilot responded in a stirring article, with some appropriate suggestions, among which was a proposition to hold a convention of the tide-water towns at Old Point Comfort, on the approaching Fourth of July, "to take steps to petition the Legislature of Virginia for an act of incorporation for an Ocean Steam, Navigation Company."